
Jinnah-Sikandar Pact: Revisited

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Abstract

It is a momentous aphorism that a falsehood chronicled transforms in to a fact 50 year later. The same is the case with the important even happened in 1937. There were some factors and individuals accountable to the incident. In this article these aspects would be reexamined and reaffirmed in the light of authentic and reliable sources to keep the historic record straight. The main personalities involved were, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Mian Fazl-i-Hussain, Jawahar Lal Nehru, Allama Muhammad Iqbal, Liaquat Ali Khan, Sir Sikandar Hayat, Malik Ahmad Yar Daultana, Malik Barkat Ali and Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan.

The debate starts with the post 1935 period when Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah (onwards Jinnah), came back from the UK and started re-organizing the All India Muslim League (onwards League), enabling it to contest the ensuing elections. The party was divided, weak and had insufficient following especially in the Muslim majority areas of the sub-continent where the other provincial political parties had strong hold and it was not

easy to attract the Muslim masses towards her folds, especially in the Punjab.

Mian Fal-i-Hussain (onwards Fazli) had a complete hold on the Punjab politics since he founded the Unionist Party in 1923. Before that He had started his political party there in February 1906. So from that point till his death in 1936 he was having a control on the Punjab politics. Fazli was also re-organizing the Unionist Party. He had no intention to dissolve it or coalesce with any other party. Jinnah tried to gain his support but it was denied. Not only that, it was made clear to him that he should desist from setting up any election campaign in the Punjab,¹ (for the ensuing elections). However, at that time, the Unionist Party was divided into two blocs at that time. One of these was headed by Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan (onwards Sikandar), including Nawab Muzaffar Qizalbash, Mir Maqbool Mahmood and Mian Ahmad Yar Khan Daultana (onwards Daultana). The other group was Noon-Tiwana faction headed by Firoz Khan Noon (onwards Noon, related to Fazli) including Umar Hayat Khan Tiwana and others. Sikandar was brother-in-law to both Nawab Muzafar and Mir Maqbool Mahmood. The groups were deadly against each other and were busy in contriving. The biographer and son of Fazli ratify this situation:

However, at the time among the Muslims in the Punjab there were three groups, each striving to gain power under the new constitution. Fazl-i-Hussain and the Unionists formed the largest group; they were opposed by the League Parliamentary Board on the one hand, and by Sir Sikandar Hayat and his partisans supported by Urban Hindus and Sikhs on the other.²

Fazli was aware of the fact that Sikandar had the compassion for Nawab Muzaffar Qizalbash, Daultana and Mir Maqbool Mahmood. On the other hand Sikandar also knew that in case of open confrontation, he could not stand before the god-father. He had two alternatives, either to work under Fazli, or to start a

political party of his own. Consequently he started to work on the both ends. When he came to know that the the All India Muslim League (onwards League), was going to contest the coming elections, he sent his envoy Daultanato the League's Bombay Session. It is also stated that Sikandar had promised Jinnah that he would organize his party under the banner of the Muslim League against Fazli, "Sir Sikandar also knew that Raja Narendar Nath was ever-ready to help anyone who opposed Fazl-i-Hussain and that the party membership would be increased by joining hand with Raja Narindar Nath."³ In a letter to Shahabud din Choudhury, Fazli wrote "The friends and the kiths and kins have become so much self-interested, jealous and ungrateful. The heart is bursting into pieces on account of their mean activities. Except patience and words of thanks there has left nothing to bear their loyalties."⁴ Even at this crisis Fazli thought of committing suicide. Actually he was aggrieved by the activities of Sikandar. Whereas Sikandar was a favourite of the British. He enjoyed full backing of the British bureaucracy.⁵ Noon and Daultana also did not behave in an absolute correct manner. "It is impossible to understand Sir Firoz Khan Noon", wrote Fazli, "What is needed is a complete overhauling. Both Firoz and Muzaffar should go, and really capable men tried. They may do no better, but nothing like trying".⁶

At least an event can be traced when Sikandar was seen to be in open revolt toFazli. The occasion arose when Sikandar issued a statement⁷ and Fazli observed, "I have gone through the document. I do not believe Sikandar could have seen it and approved of it. It is probably Mir Maqbool's production."⁸ Consequently Sikandar was annoyed, and objected, "Your analytical comments on my statement, which I sent through Maqbool, are so uncharitable, far-fetched and unjustified, that I am compelled, though reluctantly, to enter a protest. I, therefore, propose writing to you frankly and in some detail."⁹ Choudhury Shahab ud din called this letter "a combination of explanation and submission, a collection of hot and cold, vanity and sincerity".¹⁰ This mishap occurred only two months before Fazli breathed his last on July 9, 1936.

During his last days Fazli had to fight hard for his life and dignity. His health was rapidly deteriorating, domestic and party matters were also worsening. The biographer of Fazli has summed up the situation, "The machinations of the Ahrars, the intransigence of Dr. Iqbal and the League Parliamentary Board, the fierce opposition of the Urban Hindus and Sir Sikandar's negotiations with the certain Urban Hindus and Sikhs, all presented a most formidable task."¹¹ Fazl-i-Hussain was of the view that Sikandar was the best person in the party to substitute him. But the followers of the later did not want to wait for the occasion. They were following their own line of action separately and secretly. They had negotiated with League. Although Eazli had enunciated to Jinnah in clear words that he was not prepared to allow the League's operations in Punjab which would mean the end of his own party, i.e. the Unionist Party. The Sikandar's faction of the Unionist Party approached Jinnah through Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan (onwards Raja), and assured him of their help in the coming provincial elections. The offer was extended to the Raja in his meeting with Nawab Muzaffar at Lahore in December 1934.¹²

Sikandar hoped to strengthen his group with the help of League, when he knew about her participation in the 1937 elections. It is also held that when Jinnah was reluctant to take part in elections he was assured by Sikandar to organize the League in the Punjab and would defeat Fazli by contesting the elections on League's ticket.¹³ Sikandar had sent Daultana to participate in the Bombay Session of the League on his behalf. The later supported all the resolutions approved over there.¹⁴ However, the conditions were so changed that when the occasion arrived, the said group was in opposition to the League. Fazli was able to tame and win over the sympathies of the party rebels. Even Sikandar uttered in rejoinder to Quaid's claim that the League represented all Muslims in India, "The Unionist Government was not a Muslim League Government and that those who believed otherwise should divert their minds of the illusion."¹⁵ Chhotu Ram declared that "Jinnah could go to Delhi,

or take a train to Bombay, but there was no place for him in the Punjab."¹⁶Whereas Sikandar wrote to Fazli:

I have asked Ahmad Yar to convey to Jinnah to live up to his professed views, that he wants the Muslims to be one united body and to speak with one voice, both to the Congress and to the British. His activities during the past few weeks, judging from the press reports, are contrary to his professions. I have also asked Ahmad Yar to strongly press on him the advisability of keeping his finger out of the Punjab pie. If he meddles he would be encouraging fissiparous tendencies already palatably discernible in a 1 section of Punjab Muslims and might burn his fingers.¹⁷

While writing to Fazli from Bombay on April 13, 1936, Daultana wrote that he had long discussion with Jinnah and in the meeting he tried to shatter the image of Raja. He also regretted his participation in the League Session, "I feel sorry for having come to Bombay. We were placed in a difficult position." He further wrote that, "He said things about you, Sikandar and Feroz. That Mr. Jinnah had to snub him at my protest". The most important part of the letter is its last paragraph, "I am glad of one thing; it was decided to have Ghazanfar Ali as the General Secretary of the League. I persuaded Liaquat Ali of Karnal and it was made impossible for Ghazanfar Ali even to stand".¹⁸

It appears that Daultana went to Bombay not to represent Sikandar but also to intrigue against the Raja to degrade him. The job done by Daultana has been quoted to please Fazli. The Raja was a constant threat to the Punjab's god-father and the only thing to please him was to turn down his enemy number one. Fazli was so much annoyed with the activities of the Raja that he reprimanded S. M. Habib, Editor of the Daily *Siyasat*, Lahore for his visit to Pind Dadan Khan on the invitation of the Raja. In the foot note of the letter Fazli wrote, "Your starting a new

organization for Shahid Ganj Mosque and your Qasidas of Raja Ghazanfar Ali and Pir Sahib of Jalal Pur. All these cannot but mystify those interested in your welfare."¹⁹

Although Sir Chhotu Ram was not directly concerned with the consultations between Jinnah and Fazli but as the co-founder of Unionist Party, He was asked to be at hand for consultations. Interestingly enough, He too stayed at the house of Daultana where Jinnah was staying. "The Chhotu Ram-Fazli-i-Hussain political combine had proved too strong for Jinnah"²⁰ About Chhotu Ram, Fazli wrote in his diary on October 19, 1935, "He is hard working, intelligent and clear-headed, distinctly and considerably above the average." He further observed, "My forming a ministry under the reforms, it will be not without Chhotu Ram. I wish Firoze were possessed of even half of the qualifications which distinguished Chhotu Ram from others."²¹

Before announcing the names of the Central Parliamentary Board, Jinnah visited the Punjab to acquire the confidence of various Muslim leaders. Some of them managed a meeting between him and Fazli in order to remove misunderstandings between the two groups at Lahore "During the dialogues, Mian Fazl-i-Hussain made two English secretaries to sit behind a curtain to take notes of their talks secretly."²² Afterwards when the Quaid came to know about it he was grieved and shocked. Fazli also warned the Quaid not to address any public meeting and had asked him that he should leave the city if he wished to preserve his dignity.²³ Jinnah's intention was to get Muslims all over the country to stand for election on the common platform of the League. So that an All India party of the Muslims would emerge from the provincial elections. He had tried his best to win over Fazli but was unable to persuade him. The later refused to agree to Muslim Unionists standing on League ticket, although Jinnah was willing to allow them to cooperate with non-Muslim parties in the Assembly.²⁴ However, the Post- Fazli period of Punjab Muslim politics was totally changed.²⁵

The Unionist Party was well organized party with unlimited resources, a large number of trained workers and volunteers and a

powerful press at its back. The official machinery was also at its disposal which it used to influence the voters. The Punjab Provincial Muslim League on the other hand was yet in the initial stages of organization. Its only asset was a small band of workers. The attitude of the Unionist Party had been hostile towards the League till then. But now its leaders had changed their minds and gave impressions as such they were supporters of the League on the all India issues and it was only in provincial matters that they had some variances with the League high command. The Chief Parliamentary Secretary of the Punjab Legislative Assembly issued a statement on May 6, 1937 particularizing:

All the Muslims of the Punjab, Unionists or Non-Unionist are prepared to support Mr. Jinnah and agree with his program in All India matters. We have no policy other than that of League. Our only difference with Mr. Jinnah is that we are not prepared to break the Unionist Party which has been in existence in the Punjab since long. If Mr. Jinnah agrees to accept this point of view, we are ready to cooperate with him and patch up our differences.²⁶

As the elections were not far away, Jinnah worked straightaway for the formation of a Central Parliamentary Board. But the Muslims of India were divided into different groups and they followed different tracks. They had formed local or provincial parties with their own interests to contest the ensuing elections and they were indifferent to centralism and had no broad-outlook. They held the view that the interests of every province were different. They continued to oppose, tooth and nail, Jinnah's attempts to unite the Muslims on one platform. They had their own parties, mostly alliances of a few families and of conveniences. They all considered Jinnah's call for unity a threat to their regional supremacy and vested interests. They were:

Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum in the N.W.F.P., Sir Fazl-i-Hussain in the Punjab, Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatullah in Sind, A. K. FazlulHaq in Bengal and Sir Mohammad Saadullah in Assam. The situation in some of the Muslim minority provinces, too, was no better. In the United Province, the Nawab of Chhattari, in Bihar Sir Mohammad Yunus and in Bombay, Sir A. M. K. Delhvi had formed their own parties. They refused to come to the League's fold.²⁷

In spite of the opposition of the Unionist party in the Punjab Jinnah succeeded in getting some support at there. His chief supporter was not less than Dr. Iqbal and he assured him of his full support and help, "some urban Muslim members of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League under the leadership of Dr. Iqbal offered cooperation to Mr. Jinnah." Azim Hussain further writes, "They received help from certain Muslims who wanted to challenge the leadership of Fazl-i-Hussain and to help Sir Sikandar Hayat in negotiating terms with urban Hindus and Sikhs."²⁸ The only shortcoming in the personal thinking of Fazli was that he snubbed the national movement and tried to fight for the Muslim cause according to his own will and individual discretion and wisdom. The circumstances were so changed with the passage of time that the same persons who had raised the edifice of his leadership during the critical years of his political life were ignored during the supreme days of his political climax. Azim Hussain writes, "Miscellaneous Urbanists like, Iqbal, Shuja, Tajuddin, Barkat Ali have naturally been trying to make something out of this."²⁹

On May 12, 1936, a Punjab Muslim League Party meeting was held at Mian Abdul Aziz's house, outside Yakki Gate, Lahore under the Chairmanship of Dr. Iqbal. Eleven persons were nominated from the Punjab for the Central Parliamentary Board.³⁰ Jinnah, in the meantime announced the personnel of the Central Parliamentary Board on May 21, 1936. He had to face a great difficulty in selecting the associates. It consisted of fifty six

members; their proportion was "Bengal-8, Punjab-11, Sind-4, N.W.F.P.4, Madras-4, Central Provinces-2, Delhi-1, Assam-2 and Bombay-6."³¹ The personnel of the Board were virtuous and undesirable elements were excluded. It was a broad-based and representative body. Jinnah was able to rally a group of selfless workers around him. The Muslim League met at Lahore on June 10, 1936 and expressed confidence in the Central Parliamentary Board.³² Nonetheless, when the first meeting of the Board was held on June 8, 1936, many members were not present. "Men like Fazlul Haq, Syed Rauf Shah, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Nawab Liaquat Ali Khan had organized their own parties and were reluctant to join the Muslim League in her election campaign."³³

Justice Kadri has also viewed about the desertion of top members of the Parliamentary Board that Maulana Zafar Ali Khan and his colleagues resigned from the Parliamentary Board on the feeble excuse that the Ittehad-i-Millat wanted complete freedom while Muslim League wanted Dominion status. "The man behind this resignation was Dr. Mohammad Alam, who wanted to use the Ittehad-i-Millat, the *Zamindar*, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan and Shaheed Ganj issue for his election stunt and he actually did so".³⁴

With the resignation of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan (onwards Liaquat) from the Board, a strange situation was created. Only two months earlier he was elected to the office and the party was left without a Secretary. "In absence of a Secretary, the Quaid had to do the correspondence by himself."³⁵ Liaquat was not alone to lag behind but the other two members from the United Province of the Central Parliamentary Board, Nawab Chhattari and Sir Mohammad Yusuf also resigned. They decided to contest the elections on the ticket of the National Agricultural party, a party like the Unionist Party in the Punjab. Syed Hussain Imam and Syed Abdul Aziz also resigned from the Board. Jinnah dismissed Maulvi Fazlul Haq from the membership of the Board because of his undesirable activities.

The Central Parliamentary Board held its first meeting at Lahore from June 8-11, 1936 at the residence of Mian Abdul Aziz. Here the rules, regulations and an election manifesto,

defining the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League was issued on June 12, 1936.³⁶ The meeting elected Jinnah as its President, Mohammad Amir Khan as the Treasurer and Abdul Matin Choudhry as the Secretary of the Board.³⁷ The Provincial Boards were also set up. On June 10, 1936, Raja sought to move, a resolution; "if a Muslim Leaguer opposes the Parliamentary Board nominee in the elections he will be ousted from the party." But Mir Maqbool raised an objection that according to the constitution of the League there was no such restriction. Jinnah, who was presiding the meeting of the All India Muslim League Council, accepted the genuine point of Mir Maqbool and did not allow the Raja to move the resolution³⁸. Onwards it was accepted constitutionally that if some League member contests election from the opposite camp his membership with Muslim League will continue.

In organizing the Muslims to win the election was a very difficult task indeed. Jinnah had to receive many set-backs. He had to face the shock to lose his party secretary, the newly appointed Liaquat. The reason behind his resignation of was that he had presented a proposal contrary to the Central Parliamentary Board Scheme, which was not acceptable to Jinnah. According to Khaliqzaman:

Mr. Jinnah held a meeting at Bombay in July 1936 to discuss this matter with Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and myself. I frankly told Mr. Jinnah that I would not accept Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan's proposal ... Mr. Jinnah gave his verdict against the Nawabzada who became so much annoyed that he resigned from the Parliamentary Board.³⁹

A propaganda Committee was also structured for election campaign to tour the Punjab and contact the masses. The members were Maulana Abdul Hanan, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Pir Tajjuddin and others.⁴⁰ Jinnah visited Lahore on the invitation of Allama Iqbal to inaugurate the Muslim League election

campaign. He addressed a small gathering at Delhi Gate on October 11, 1936 and criticized the Punjab Unionist party. He said that, "It was the only party which was opposing the League and would be troublesome."⁴¹ The applications for the Muslim League tickets were invited in the last week of October 1936. It was also made clear that, "expenditure on account of the election will be met with the candidates themselves."⁴² The Muslim League Parliamentary Board Punjab received eight applications.⁴³

About eight political parties took part in the 1937 elections for the Punjab Legislative Assembly. As was expected, more than one hundred seats were bagged by the Unionist Party in the Punjab. The other parties could not capture more than two or three seats of the Assembly. Only two candidates of the League namely Malik Barkat Ali and Raja were elected. The Unionist party had left no stone unturned to defeat the League candidates but in vain. From Pind Dadan Khan Constituency, Raja secured 5451 votes as compared to Raja Mohammad Afzal 4691 and Raja Umar Hayat 2366.⁴⁴ The other League member, Malik Barkat Ali along with the League ticket in 1937 elections, had also got the Ittehad-i-Millat ticket.⁴⁵

The League had no or very few provincial and district branches, no financial resources, no propaganda facilities. It had only six months to prepare itself for the elections. With such a short time to organize its election machinery and facing local jealousies and rivalries, it could not have done much better, than it did. Throughout the sub-continent, it could win 109 seats out of 482 Muslim seats. The Party did not contest all the seats reserved for the Muslims. Thus in the Punjab, League put seven candidates and won two seats. In the United Province it contested thirty five seats and got twenty nine. In Madras, it secured nine out of total of thirty five Muslim seats. In Bengal it claimed thirty nine seats out of one hundred and seventeen seats. In Bombay it bagged twenty out of twenty nine seats. While, the Congress won 716 seats (about 44 percent) out of the total of 1,585 seats. Out of the Muslim seats it secured only twenty six seats (5.4 percent of all).⁴⁶

The period from 1937 to 1947 commands more attention in the history of the freedom movement in the South Asian Sub-continent. It was during the decade that the Pakistan movement gathered momentum. It was during this decade, when the League began to command a substantial mass following and with the passage of time emerged as a mass movement. During this arena, Punjab, the "recruiting center of the British army" was turned into a highly politically charged area. Though "the elections of 1937 destroyed the foundations upon which Jinnah had built his strategy ever since his return to India in 1934".⁴⁷ But, the Quaid was able to build up a fort from the wrecked foundations. The results of 1937 elections proved that the Congress had emerged as a national party, "Capturing 716 out of 1585 seats and qualifying to form ministries in at least six provinces."⁴⁸ The Congress lost majority in the Punjab. Its poorest performance was in the Punjab getting only 10% votes out of total 175 seats Unionist won 95 The Khalsa won 20⁴⁹. At the same time the League was unable even to claim to be the representative of the Muslim interests as far as the Punjab was concerned.

After the election results a sudden change occurred in the attitude of the Congress leaders towards the League. Instead of welcoming the Muslim League's offer of cooperation Jawahar Lal Nehru (onwards Nehru), began to talk of direct contact with the Muslim masses by-passing the League. While addressing the Congress members of the Provincial Assemblies, on March 19, 1937, he said that "the talk of rights is nonsense. It is surprising that there are still some people who consider the Muslims to be a separate group and are dreaming of reaching a settlement with the Hindus".⁵⁰ Ian Stephens, the former editor of the *Statesman*, Calcutta, writes, "When the Congress Ministries resigned in the autumn of 1939, there had been 57 communal outbreaks in their provinces and more than 1,700 casualties of which over 130 had been fatal."⁵¹ By the end of 1939 it was widely believed that if the Congress government had lasted much longer, communal fighting would have broken out on an unprecedented scale.

The League was yet to emerge as a strong organization in the Muslim majority provinces. In the N.W.F.P. and Sindh not a single League candidate could win a seat. Out of seven, only two of its candidates were elected in the Punjab. The Unionist Party had emerged as the most powerful party in the Punjab Legislative Assembly in 1937 elections. Jinnah visualized the growth of the Muslim League in the Punjab and he looked towards the influential Muslims of the province for the needful.

During 1937, Sikandar had taken up an anti-Congress stand, disagreeing with its policy on the office acceptance issue and deplored its attitude towards the minorities. Sikandar's stand on Congress policy is contained in his speech to a deputation of the All-India Kshatriya Conference on May 18, 1937. He criticized the answer of Acharya Kirpalani's response to Jinnah's criticism of the Congress plan. He alleged that "the situation can only add to the fears of the minorities regarding the treatment which they were going to get from the majority party in the provinces in which the Congress dominates."⁵² Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru (onwards Nehru) in his visit to the Punjab had attracted large crowds and attacked the Unionist government. It was also a persistent threat for the Unionist Ministry to her further program. Faced with the threat of being snuffed out politically, the Unionists urgently needed a new strategy for survival. "Admittedly the Muslim majority provinces needed a spokesman in Delhi since it was there that the Congress's ambitions were coming increasing to be directed."⁵³

It can also be assumed that in order to check the activities of the Congress with success and for the stability of his party and the continuity of his rule the only alternative with Sikandar, was to seek the help of another party with a sound political programme on all India level. Because he could neither organize his Muslim colleagues, against the Congress Party, into a new party nor could he depend upon the weak policy and the vague economic programme of his own party. So he decided that the League should be used against the Congress in such a way that both of them were made ineffective in the Punjab. Whereas the League

needed some influential provincial political parties to counter the Congress high handedness. The League was better represented in Muslim minority provinces, but Muslim majority provinces like Bengal and the Punjab lagged behind in their support for the League. At the same time, the Congress ministries started ignoring the interests of the Muslims altogether. This hostile attitude of the Congress created dis-contentment and disappointment among the Muslims who started sharing bitter feelings among themselves against the Congress.

The Congress had formed the Ministries in six provinces in July 1937, i.e. Bombay, Madras, United Province, Bihar, Central Province and Orissa. In the N.W.F.P. eight non-Congress members cooperated with her who gave it a majority there and a Congress ministry was consequently installed. Later on the Congress coalition ministries were formed in Assam and Sindh. Thus Congress was able to install her ministries in nine provinces out of total eleven provinces of India. "The Muslim Unionists were threatened by the Congress Mass-Contact Movement in the Punjab."⁵⁴

In the Punjab it was taken for granted that anybody who stands elected in the election would join the Unionist party afterwards. It was a strong party as compared to others as only three members deserted the party during a span of seven years i.e. 1937-43. The party was an outcome of the rural and urban division of the Muslim politicians in the Punjab. The division had badly affected the Muslim politics from 1921 to 1937. Due to feudal influence, the League could not capture majority of seats during 1937 elections. It can be easily assumed that the Unionist Party mostly consisted of the landlords. Raja was a landowner himself and his interests laid with the other landlords, so he associated himself to the Unionist party after the election results were announced. The reasons and circumstances which led the Raja to join the Unionist Party are indefinite. He was appointed as Parliamentary Secretary in the Unionist government. The Raja claimed that, "He joined the Unionist ranks with the consent of the Quaid. He had written to the Quaid that if he was unable to

bring the Unionists under the banner of the League within six months, he would resign from his post."⁵⁵The prevailing period saw that the Raja never lost the confidence of his leader.

However, his action was severely criticized by Malik Barkat Ali group. The weekly *New Times* referred the underhand compromise between the Raja and Sikandar. "It is clear deceit and a total fraud. Had the Muslim League knew this agreement between Raja and Sir Sikandar, the Parliamentary Board would not have given the ticket to such a person"⁵⁶ The Raja was welcomed in the Unionist ranks. His action was appreciated by Daultana through a letter to the *Inqilab* captioned as, "From the Diary of a Unionist."⁵⁷A convention was arranged on February 15, 1937 at Lahore to celebrate the success of the Unionist Party. Raja made a speech in the meeting to show his confidence in the party leader, Sikandar. He declared that he was always of the view that we should work together, "There was nothing objectionable for me in the Unionist programme."⁵⁸Twenty three other members also made speeches in favour of the resolution of confidence. Two reasons were given by the Raja in support of his joining the Unionist party. Firstly that the Unionist party was the only organized party of the province; and secondly that there was no basic difference, in the political programme of the League and the Unionist party.⁵⁹

Raja claims that he had started parleys with Sikandar soon after joining his cabinet that the time has come to start negotiations between the Muslim League and the Unionist party which Jinnah and Fazli wanted after elections⁶⁰. His parting, incidentally affected Jinnah-Sikandar Pact at Lucknow as he could influence the Punjab premier to come towards an understanding with Jinnah. The Raja claimed to be the person who arranged this settlement. In spite of the fact that he had joined the Unionist party he remained very close to Jinnah. On part of a person this was a great privilege for the Raja to bring two political leaders to a settlement. The period was a decisive phase for the League which could not afford an open confrontation with a sound party like the Unionist in the Punjab. It was also impossible for the Unionist

party to disband itself to merge into the League. The Raja claimed to be imbedded to make the two ends meet. He served as a link between the Unionists and the Muslim League leadership. Though he worked behind the screen, he did not take part in active politics unless it was necessary and kept himself bound to his official excecencies. He promptly resigned his office when it was called by Jinnah and the Muslim interests were in jeopardy. The occasion arose when the Muslim League policy was defied by the new leader of the Unionist Party, Malik Khizar Hayat Khan.

Raja simultaneously started convincing Sikandar for the League-Unionist cooperation on national issues. The later liked the idea but he was reluctant due to some functional difficulties of the idea. There were also other persons in the Unionist party who had a kind heart towards the Muslim League.⁶¹ Especially Nawab Shahnawaz Khan of Mamdot (onwards Mamdot), was in favour of cooperation with the League. In the meanwhile the Congress started her anti-Muslim activities in the Sub-continent and Sikandar seemed ready to work with the League. According to Jahan Ara Shahnawaz, she had proposed Jinnah before 1937 elections that the Muslim members of the Unionist party be known as Muslim League Unionists. It was also suggested by Sikandar and was conveyed to Jinnah. But "Mr. Jinnah would not accept Sir Sikandar's suggestion and this made us, the Muslim Leaguers very depressed".⁶² She further writes, "The Sikandar-Jinnah Pact was signed and we became Muslim League Unionists within the party, as I had proposed to Mr. Jinnah before the elections."⁶³

After the death of Fazli the idea of League- Unionist cooperation was opposed by Dr. Iqbal and his group at Lahore.⁶⁴ Subsequently the defeat of the League in the Muslim majority area in 1937 elections generally and in the Punjab specially a growing Congress influence was sensed by the Muslim leaders. Particularly Dr. Iqbal pointed out the danger to Jinnah, "Iqbal himself expressed the fear that the Punjabi Muslims were now tending to become favourably inclined towards the Congress."⁶⁵ The Quaid asked Dr. Iqbal to work out an

approachment with Sikandar for the needful.⁶⁶ Just as Sikandar desired an association with the League, Jinnah needed the assistance of the regional parties in the Muslim majority provinces. The League had done quite poorly in the 1937 elections. The League session in October 1937 was hardly expected to be a victory celebration; even the president of her previous session held at Bombay had for sakenit. Several members of the Unionist Party had been constitutionally still members of the Muslim League Council and they were invited to attend the Lucknow Session.⁶⁷

The League convened its annual session at Lucknow on October 15, 1937 to consider the grave situation created by the hostile attitude of the Congress governments in the Muslim minority provinces. The Muslim delegates came to attend this session from all corners of the country. Mamdot and Raja were among those who dealt with the League and arranged for Sikandar himself to attend as a special invitee. Sikandar along with a number of Unionist members of the Punjab Assembly reached Lucknow and fully availed the opportunity. The groups at the venue were primarily rural Unionists and the urban Leaguers of the Punjab.⁶⁸ It is said that discussions had been already held between the two parties to reach to some understanding:

Before coming to Lucknow, Mr. Jinnah had already been negotiating with Sikandar who was anxious to retain a certain amount of freedom from the Muslim League Organization for dealing with the special problems in the Punjab in the field of administration, by preserving the Unionist party intact to ensure minority cooperation.⁶⁹

At Lucknow, Jinnah and Sikandar had held long discussions and all the differences were almost settled. But there were some variances to bring the agreement in black and white. Malik Barkat Ali and Mir Maqbool Mahmood were also present during the negotiations and helped their leaders respectively. The draft of the agreement by Malik Barkat Ali was unacceptable to Sikandar.⁷⁰The

file and ranks of the Unionist party were not satisfied with the final draft of the agreement. Even when it was being drafted, "Mehtar and Salik were saying to Sir Iskandar that the Punjab politics has been devastated." ⁷¹Another draft was prepared by Mir Maqbool Mahmood, Raja and Nawab Shah Nawaz of Mamdot till the late night on October 13th. Raja claims that, "He took the draft to the Quaid in his bed room and it was approved." ⁷²

Next day Jinnah announced in the session that Sikandar had agreed to join the League with all the Muslim members of his party. The decision concluded by both the leaders was approved unanimously. ⁷³ Syed Noor Ahmad has specified the details of efforts of the Raja and Mamdot to bring about this settlement. He has also explained that why Jinnah-Sikandar contract came only after a breach between the League and the Congress. About Sikandar's earlier hesitation, he has inscribed, "Hitherto, it was not clear what shape, the efforts of the League-Congress understanding would take and also the term and conditions of the understanding, if reached, were under question, and also that the Unionist party be able to abide by those conditions." ⁷⁴

Batalvi challenges the story of Syed Noor Ahmad that Raja was present in the Lucknow session and worked in drafting the agreement. He proclaims that, "For three or four years the Raja dared not to face the Quaid-i-Azam due to his act of deserting the Muslim League." ⁷⁵ The statement by Batalvi has no grounds because the incidents after wards proved that the Raja remained very close to Jinnah and enjoyed his confidence. The Raja was very much present in all the sessions of League after the 1937 elections. He had performed as a link between the Unionist party and Jinnah. The act of Raja was approved by Jinnah when he rejected the blames and allegations put on Raja and his group. The claim of Syed Noor Ahmad that the Raja was mainly responsible for the ratification of Jinnah-Sikandar Pact has been qualified by Sardar Shaukat Hayat (son of Sikandar), in an interview with the biographer of his father emphasizing the role of Raja by commending his decision to join the Unionist party as a means of

influencing Muslim Unionists to later join the League. He further particularized, "Sikandar Hayat, with the acknowledged support of Ghazanfar Ali Khan and others, wanted to show that he stood by Muslims at large."⁷⁶

In response to the claims of the Congress as the sole representative of all the communities of Sub-continent, Jinnah was able to strike a timely warning both to the British government and the Congress that nothing contrary to the interests of the Muslims would be tolerated. He said in his presidential address at the Lucknow session of the League:

The All India Muslim League certainly and definitely stands to safeguard the rights and interests of the Musalmans to be exploited either by the British Government or any other party or group inside the legislative or outside. The Congress with all its boasts has done nothing in the past for Musalmans. It has failed to inspire confidence and to create a sense of security amongst the Musalmans, and other minorities.⁷⁷

He further warned the Congress for her exclusive Hindu policy and alienating the Muslims. Before-hand, in a public meeting at Calcutta Jinnah had warned the Congress that interference with Muslim affairs would mean complete disaster. Also replying to the claim of Nehru that "there are two powers in India, the British Government and the Congress", He observed, "There is a third party, namely the Muslims, we are not going to be dictated by anybody... We are not going to be camp followers of any party."⁷⁸

According to Jinnah, "The Lucknow session of the All India Muslim League is one of the most critical that have taken place during its existence, for the last more than thirty years."⁷⁹ Actually, at that time the League was so depressed by the attitude of the Congress policies that it was looking towards the Punjab and Bengal for help. Both Sikandar and Fazlul Haq with a large number of M.L.A.s from the Punjab and Bengal respectively

arrived at the session. They saved the League by throwing their full weight at the crucial hour behind her. Besides them most of the Muslim leaders from Sindh, N.W.F.P. Bombay, C.P. Madras etc. attended this session. "If the premiers of the Punjab and the Bengal had not come to the rescue of the Muslim League it would have remained the party of the minority provinces in time to come, would have to surrender to the Congress."⁸⁰ Another view about the Lucknow session by M. H. Saiyid is also worth mentioning, "One of the outstanding accomplishments of the League at Lucknow was that the ministries functioning in Bengal and Punjab subscribed to 'the League policy and its programme and Muslim members of these ministerial parties signed the League pledge."⁸¹ Penderal Moon comments on the agreement that, "before the year was out the Muslim members of the Unionist Party in the Punjab under the leadership of the Premier, Sikandar Hayat Khan had gone over en -bloc to the League. The League was enormously strengthened by the accession of the Punjab and Bengal Muslims and Jinnah himself was suddenly raised to an alliance which he had never enjoyed before."⁸² Jinnah got great prominence on all India level with the Punjab and Bengal support.

Bringing the Punjab under the League banner is on Raja's credit. It was only after the agreement that Jinnah could claim in his presidential address at the 1940 session of the Muslim League at Lahore that, "the reason he was invited for the first time to negotiations with the Viceroy and Gandhi was due to the All India Muslim League, whose President I happen to be."⁸³ Although it is observed that he had accepted the Unionist agreement not happily. Malik Shaukat Ali son of Malik Barkat Ali told in an interview to Iftikhar Haider Malik that Jinnah had once confided to his late father that he had to accept "bad coins" so as to bring others into the fold of the Muslim League, and that he wanted to show to the British that most of the Muslim premiers and notables were with him in the Muslim League, regardless of the nature and extent of their support for the Muslim League."⁸⁴ Another critic Sajjad Zaheer maintained that "the League tolerated the Unionist

Government in the province, so that it might be used as a pawn on the chess board of Indian politics."⁸⁵

At the same time the Jinnah-Sikandar Pact could not be called a pact in the real sense of the word as it was vague and it neither clarified the position of the League nor that of the Unionist party. It was the product of the need. Sikandar was happy that he had won the support of the League and Jinnah was pleased that the representative position of his party had become strong as the Muslim organization by the inclusion of the Punjab premier into it. The fact is that the agreement was not laid out clearly and as a result, on the very return from Lucknow, both the parties, the Unionists and the Leaguers from the Punjab issued such statements which showed that they wanted to make their position strong at the cost of the other party. The sympathizers and well-wishers of the Muslim League in the Punjab under Allama Iqbal's leadership did not appreciate the terms of the agreement. They showed their discontent and feared that through the agreement, the League had been made the subordinate body of the Unionist Party.

Allama Iqbal, the President of the Punjab Muslim League was also not satisfied with the situation and he perceived that "The Pact has given superior position to the Unionist Party and the League has been reduced to the secondary position."⁸⁶ He also wrote letters to Jinnah showing his displeasure. He observed:

Sikandar Hayat wants to have complete control of the League Provincial Parliamentary Board and insisted that all the office bearers should be appointed according to his wishes. He is demanding to remove the present secretary of the League... Not only this but he wants that all the accounts and funds of the League should be given in custody of the Unionists. The object of the Unionist is that somehow or other, Muslim League may be buried to death in the province ... The Pact has done much harm to the Muslim League in the Punjab.⁸⁷

Similarly, Allama Iqbal decided to issue a statement to the press regarding the position of the Provincial Muslim League vis-a-vis the Unionist party.⁸⁸ On the advice of Jinnah, however, this statement was subsequently not released to the press. The relations between Iskandar and Malik Barkat group had been strained even before the agreement was approached. At the same time Allama Iqbal and Barkat Ali never lost their confidence in Jinnah and kept on working for the welfare of their community at large. "On the other hand differences between Sikandar Hayat and Barkat Ali continued to grow and the later tried his best to dislodge the Unionist government."⁸⁹

Sikandar wrote to Jinnah narrating his worries and difficulties after his return from Lucknow.⁹⁰ His position was made difficult with the press statements of Barkat Ali and other likeminded Leaguers of Punjab. Sikandar sought the consent of Jinnah to make his position clear and to avoid the criticism of his non-Muslim party members, especially Sir Chhotu Ram. This move started an unhappy controversy between the two groups and various interpretations were made of the Jinnah-Iskandar Pact. The Pact created a stir in the Punjab politics. Non-Muslim politicians of the Punjab viewed that Sikandar had made a complete surrender to Jinnah and would allow Unionist party to be absorbed by the League, or that he had succeeded in bringing the Punjab Muslim League Parliamentary Board under his control. To explain the situation, several statements were made by the Unionist leaders in the second half of October, 1937 and these appeared in the *Civil and Military Gazette* and the other newspapers of Lahore.

The Unionist leadership was trying to recover any ground it might have lost in its non-communal stance, and prevent the Congress and Akali Sikhs from exploiting the situation. Sikandar asserted in a statement that his agreement with Jinnah would have no effect on the prevailing composition of parties in the Assembly, although Muslim Unionists would also be advised to obtain League membership. But he also assumed that "In future elections candidates would stand on Muslim League tickets on the condition that they join the Unionist Party in the Assembly, and would thus

get Unionist support for the elections."⁹¹ Daultana complained to Jinnah against the situation created by Barkat Ali and observed, "Malik Barkat Ali and others are not playing cricket with us and Sikandar has written to you about it yesterday."⁹²

Jinnah viewed the situation in the Punjab quite differently from Allama Iqbal and Barkat Ali. In June 1936, when the session of the League Central Parliamentary Board met at Lahore and the Unionist party was in open conflict with the League, Allama Iqbal asked Jinnah to expel those members of the Unionist party who were also the members of the League, from the Muslim League Council. But for certain reasons, the later did not consider it appropriate to take penal action against those members.⁹³ He also did not endorse Allama Iqbal's approach in his controversy with Sikandar's group. The details of the strong worded correspondence between them can be found in the Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah, especially at the pages 29, 31 and 32. Jinnah's letter to Barkat Ali is the proof of his diverse approach to the issue.⁹⁴ Lastly it was the climax of the tragedy with the Punjab Muslim League when on April 2, 1938 meeting of the All India Muslim League Council its affiliation with the central organization was refused to be accepted with, although Allama Iqbal was still associated with the organization.⁹⁵ Even when Allama Iqbal was at his death bed, he was replaced as president of the Punjab Muslim League by Mamdot, a staunch Unionist and a land owner. "Barkat Ali was convinced by Nawab Mamdot that his appointment would ensure financial security to the party at the time the League was facing an acute financial crisis."⁹⁶

Malik Barkat Ali also gave the Unionist Ministry a tough time when he blamed that the Ministry had exploited the Shahid Ganj Mosque issue for her election purposes on March 9, 1938 during the budget Discussion of the Punjab Assembly.⁹⁷ Barkat Ali was also able to win over some of the Muslim members of the Unionist Party.⁹⁸ Sikandar got afraid of split in his party on the Shahid Ganj Bill if the Muslim Members helped it. This was the only instance in the stable period of Sikandar tenure when his ministry was in danger. Had it become a law, it would have over-

ridden the judgment of the Court and had transferred the Shahid Ganj Mosque and many other Muslim buildings in Sikh or Hindu occupation to the Muslims. Nevertheless about twenty four Muslims of the Unionist Party were prepared to back the bill and a grave political crisis probably involving the premiers' resignation was faced."⁹⁹

Dr. Mohammad Alam had also blamed the Unionist Party with the same charge that it had sought help from the voters on the question of Shahid Ganj.¹⁰⁰ Sikandar sought the help of the Governor in this case and the later by using his special powers prohibited the introduction of the bill into the Assembly. As a result, the Premier was free to speak boldly on the merits of his opinion about this question on March 16, 1938 and Barkat Ali was helplessly looking at the Unionist members who had given press statements in favour of the bill. Coupland has narrated the incident that, "In a frank and impressive speech on the dangers inherent in the bill, the Premier carried the house with him".¹⁰¹

Discussing the situation, Barkat Ali in a letter to Jinnah, wrote: "The League is at a perfect standstill in the Punjab. The only propaganda that is being done is for the Unionist party, the League is not even mentioned, but the prestige of the League is being exploited for Unionist ends."¹⁰² According to the Jinnah-Sikandar Pact the Muslim Unionists were to be called upon to sign League forms. By March 1938 there was still not a single Unionist who had joined the League. Many had signed the forms, but all attached the proviso that membership was subject to the Jinnah-Sikandar Pact.¹⁰³ As such, their forms had either not been handed in or had not been accepted because of the condition attached. Malik Barkat Ali was opposing the Unionist Party in the Punjab Assembly and even out of it. In some of the by-elections, he opposed the Unionist candidates. In August 1939, by-election on a Multan Urban seat was held. The Unionist candidate, Sheikh Mohammad Amin won the election after having a tough fight with Malik Zaman Mahdi Khan of Malik Barkat Ali's party.¹⁰⁴ On another occasion in August 1941, Barkat Ali also opposed the Sikandar Hayat group in case of by-election for the Assembly seat

vacated by K. L. Gauba. Abdussar Niazi, Secretary of the Punjab Muslim Students Federation was nominated by Barkat Ali. Whereas Mian Amiruddin was nominated by Sikandar and Nawab Shahnawaz. Both the groups tried to seek help of the Quaid but the later refused to interfere.¹⁰⁵ But at last Niazi gave way and Sikandar managed to get Mian Amir ud din elected unopposed.¹⁰⁶

Sikandar Hayat, however, tried his best to keep the League out of the Punjab. The first occasion came in connection with the holding of the special League Session at Lahore in 1938. "Dr. Iqbal had been very eager for this as a means of spreading League popularity in the Punjab."¹⁰⁷ The Quaid was also willing to the suggestion,¹⁰⁸ and an invitation was sent in March 1938 on the strength of a decision at a Punjab Muslim League meeting.¹⁰⁹ Mamdot, the President of the Punjab Muslim League objected to the decision was taken during his absence from the meeting. He did not approve holding the session at Lahore to avoid communal tension.¹¹⁰ As a result, the session was held at Calcutta. At the Calcutta Session in April 1938, the League decided against a non-cooperation movement over Shahid Ganj issue, and assured the Punjab government of its assistance in bringing about a settlement, and expressed its confidence in Sikandar's policy.¹¹¹

Although Sikandar was regularly attending the League meetings held off and on and accepted the decisions of the party and Jinnah. After Shahid Ganj incident, Sikandar went to Calcutta to attend the League Session held in April 1938. "He assured the gathering that he realizes the pain and distress which the Shahid Ganj affair had given to Muslims of India and he was no exception", adding that he stood behind Jinnah, and no misunderstanding could tear them away."¹¹² He was present in the meeting of the Executive Council of the League held at Bombay, on June 4-5, 1938 at Jinnah's residence.¹¹³ On October 8, 1938, He participated in the provincial Muslim League Conference held at Karachi,¹¹⁴ along with a strong band of his party men. He reached Patna on December 26, 1938 to take part in the annual session of the League.¹¹⁵ Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan was also present in all these meetings. Direct Action Resolution was approved

against the atrocities committed by the Congress Governments on the Muslims.¹¹⁶ The Session of the League was held on August 27, 1939 at Town Hall, Delhi. Sikandar was present along with a strong band of Unionist like Daultana, Raja and others. "They introduced some resolutions and the group abused me openly."¹¹⁷ During the same session, the Muslim League Council passed a resolution for conditional cooperation of the Muslims with the government to accept their demands. But prior to that, Sikandar had assured the government in a speech at Simla for the full cooperation of the Punjab province in the war without discussing with Jinnah which resulted in a minor clash.¹¹⁸

The Second World War broke out in 1939 and the Unionist government added to its favour by postponing the elections on the pretext of war and thus prolonged its rule. The Unionist Government issued an order on February 10, 1940 and postponed the general elections of the province and the elections of the local bodies for a year due to the war. Barkat Ali urged the Unionist Ministry to let the electorates decide who were capable of forming the government in the Punjab, either the Unionists or the Muslim League. He argued "If the electorate is with the Unionist party, there will be an end of the whole trouble, but if the electorate is not with the Unionist party, the province should get rid of the Unionist government."¹¹⁹

The Congress also criticized the action and blamed the Premier that he was afraid of the increasing influence of the Congress and other political parties which was the main cause of postponing the elections. They pointed out that "the Punjab was neither concerned with the war nor affected by it government was simply exploiting the situation."¹²⁰ But in spite of the opposition, the Unionist government postponed its entire activities and diverted whole of its attention to help the British in the war. The Unionist party gave its full support in every possible way, so much so, that even the Premier sent his son to the War front and himself visited the Middle East Army Headquarters where the Punjabi and the other Indian troops were engaged in fighting. The Punjab was the only province of India which gave its unconditional

support to the British without caring what their countrymen were demanding and how badly their efforts were being affected by the policy followed by them. The unqualified support of the Unionist Party was a deviation from the Muslim League policy and the League had resolved that the party members would not join the War Boards or other War Committees.

To bridge the gulf between two opposite" groups of the Punjab Muslim League and the Unionist party, a three personnel Fact Finding Committee was appointed by the League. The committee reached Lahore on March 10, 1940 and the members stayed at the residence of Nawab Nisar Ali Khan Qizalbash. The commission held hearings of the witnesses of both the groups. "A six-hour long evidence was recorded of Barkat Ali, Nawab Mamdot, Mian Ramzan Ali, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Mian Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani were the major witnesses of Sikandar Hayat."¹²¹ Batalvi claims it was proved by our evidences and facts that the Provincial Muslim League formed by Sikandar was only on the papers and was also unconstitutional. But the high command of the All India Muslim League was bent upon to please Sikandar. On the recommendations of the investigation committee the Punjab League of Sikandar was legally approved. Batalvi further alleges that Liaquat was sympathetic towards Sikandar and was instrumental in obtaining the disaffiliation. Furthermore, Liaquat held vast lands in Karnal district in the East Punjab, and perhaps could not afford to antagonize the Unionist ministry. His elder brother was also a Unionist M.L.A. in the Punjab Assembly.¹²²Whereas a committee member, Choudhury Khaliqzaman is of the view that," the branches set up by Malik Barkat Ali and his party were mostly bogus."¹²³

Such was the story of the Punjab politics where the League had to start from below zero in post 1935 period. It had to face hostility from the provincial leadership. However, a rebel group of the Unionist party came into contact with them but later on being won over by their god-father rallied against league during the election even after expiration of Fazli. But it is to the acclaim of Raja that he carved a working alliance between the two foes and

was able to muster a strong band from the hostile camp and managed to get an agreement concluded the Jinnah-Sikandar pact. But it was the most controversial and disturbed span of time which witnessed even accosting of the poet-philosopher of the Muslim Ummah and the prominent thinker of idea of Pakistan. This may have been diplomacy of Jinnah who did not assert in those critical years but after death of Sikandar a relatively weaker Unionist leader Malik Khizar Hayat Tiwana was in front of him. League's position on all India level had been strengthened and now it was a time to stress and establish her writ in the Punjab. So Jinnah challenged the "Boy-leader", and the compromising period was changed into an aggressive and assertive party standpoint. So all the go between including the Raja took up a clear political course in the succeeding head on collision. Finally at the end on the day, the same party which had enjoyed its monopoly on the Punjab politics had to bow down and just a couple of months before the end of the Raj, Khizar Hayat had to submit and the slogan echoed on the Lahore roads and streets, *TAZA KHABAR AI AA KHIZAR SADA BHAI HAI*.

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- 3 Justice Shamim Hussain Kadri, *Creation of Pakistan*, Lahore, 1983, p.85.
- 4 Azim Hussain, *Fazlipp*. 322-323.
- 5 Sir Madan, Gopal, *Chhotu Ram: A Political Biography*, Delhi, 1977, p.84.
- 6 Ibid. p. 84.
- 7 Azim Hussain, *Fazli*, pp.327-328.
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- 9 Ibid. p. 329(letter dated May 13, 1936).
- 10 Ibid. p. 330.
- 11 Ibid.p. 349.
- 12 The Daily *Mashriq*, Lahore, November 12, 1963.
- 13 A.H. Batalvi, *Iqbal Kay Akhri Do Sal*, Lahore, 1961, p. 277.
- 14 Ibid. p. 278.
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 Waheed Ahmad (ed) *Letters of Mian Fazl-i-Hussain*, Lahore, 1976, p. 528. (Sikandar Hayat to Fazl-i-Hussain, May 1, 1936).
- 17 Sir Gopal Mohan, *Chhotu Ram: A Political Biography*, Delhi, 1977. p. 94.
- 18 Waheed Ahmad, *Letters*. pp. 512-514.
- 19 Ibid. p. 591.(Whereas the Raja claimed that no party could help or injure him, but he was deprived of the high office of secretary ship of the Muslim League at the hands of different hostile quarters, as a democrat and as a sportsman he accepted the decision of the party leader. However, the hostile camp was very happy at this situation. It may be assumed that his later overturn from League to the Unionist was an effect of this incident. But this chapter was closed and no further evidence was traced to build up the controversy. Safely it can be assumed that the Raja accepted the decision of his leader and worked whole-heartedly according to his orders).
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- 22 Choudhary Habib Ahmad, *Tarikh-i-Pakistan Aur Nationalist Ulema*, Lahore, 1966, pp. 501-502. (The meeting was held at Fazli's residence on 1st May 1936. Fazli ridiculed Iqbal & Jinnah's Punjab associates in a

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- 25 Fazli Hussain expired on July 9, 1936.
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- 41 The Daily *Inqilab*, Lahore, October 13, 1936.
- 42 A.H. Batalvi, *Iqbal*, p.344 (The candidates were Malik Barkat Ali, Khalifa Shujjauddin, Malik Zaman Mahdi Khan, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Sardar Karim Bakhsh Haidri, Mian Abdul Majid, Nawab Muzzafar Ali Khan Qizalbash, and Mushtaq Ali Khan).
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